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THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE ENGLISH DERIVATIONAL -ING SUFFIX IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH

Keywords: *-ing* formation, productivity, borrowing, hybrid creation, pseudo-anglicism

Abstract

The paper presents and examines *-ing* formations used in Polish. It also addresses the notion of productivity in morphology and discusses the growing productivity of the English derivational *-ing* suffix in contemporary Polish. To address the issue of productivity all *-ing* formations must be divided into foreign loans and derivatives that have been coined in Polish. One of the two forms of analysis of the research material used for the present study is based on the typology of contact-induced innovations; the other involves a synchronic morphological and semantic analysis of *-ing* formations coined in Polish. A thesis concerning the appearance of English *-ing* in Polish and its becoming an independent suffix and a productive word-formation rule is proposed.

1. Introduction

Studies in English-Polish language contact have a long tradition in Polish linguistics. One of the first comprehensive documentations of the English linguistic influence on Polish was carried out in 1936/37 by Koneczna, who identified over five hundred English loanwords. A comparison of data available in the late 19th- and early 20th-century dictionaries of Polish and the more recent lexicographic studies by language contact scholars, among others Jacek Fisiak and Elżbieta Mańczak-Wohlfeld (see bibliography), provides evidence for the growing number of English loanwords in Polish: cf. 180 anglicisms in 1861 (SWil), 250 in 1927 (SWar), 531 in 1937 (Koneczna 1936/37), 700 in 1961 (Fisiak 1961), and over 2000 in 2010 (SZA). The research material analysed in these works suggests that English linguistic influence on Polish in the 20th century resulted predominantly in loanwords, which are one of

the three major types of lexical loans next to loanblends and loanshifts, to use the generally accepted typology by Haugen (1950). Other types of loans, such as syntactic calques or morphological borrowings were hardly ever mentioned in the early studies. The interest in loanwords rather than in other types of loans was motivated by the nature of linguistic borrowing from English at that time.

The word-formation analysis of loanwords in the quoted studies involved the division of loans into simple words, derivatives and compounds, of which the last two were claimed, quite justifiably at that time, to be *unanalyzed* morphologically by speakers of Polish and adopted as simple forms. Treating borrowed complex words as simple lexemes is typical of languages that are not in direct contact, the consequence of which is the lack of productivity of English derivational affixes in Polish (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1992: 22). Indeed, in those earlier studies on English loanwords no productivity of English suffixes, such as *-ing* or *-er*, was observed (Fisiak 1961: 105, 1986: 256; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1992: 22, 1995: 62; cf. also Waszakowa 1994: 68). It seems, however, that this view must be reconsidered 30 years later if one takes into account the appearance in the early 21st-century Polish of formations, such as *kocing*, *sponsoring*, *zakuping*, and many other hybrid nonce formations in *-ing*. Since each of the three quoted expressions represents a different class of contact-induced innovations and none of them may be classified as an English loanword, the article aims to address two issues. First, all formations in *-ing* that may be found in contemporary Polish, from nonce-formations to well-established *-ing* expressions, will be classified into four major types. One other aim is to address the issue of the appearance of *-ing* in Polish and its growing productivity.

The research material used in the present study comes from general dictionaries of Polish (SJPDor, USJP), a dictionary of anglicisms (SZA), lexicographic works (Jochym-Kuszlukowa 2005; Piotrowski 2005; Rostowska 2009; Witalisz 2014), and my own collection that includes material excerpted from the Polish mass media, including printed press, television and the Internet.

2. The suffix *-ing*

In OED, we find three exhaustive entries devoted to *-ing*, in which it is defined as 1. 'a suffix forming verbal derivatives', 2. 'a suffix of the present participle, and of adjs. hence derived', and 3. 'a suffix forming derivative masculine sbs. such as OE *cyning* 'king'. For the purposes of the present study, we shall examine the first of the three OED entries, in which *-ing* is a derivational "suffix forming verbal derivatives, originally abstract nouns of action, but [that] subsequently developed in various directions: OE. *-ung*, *-ing* [...]. In early ME., *-ung* rapidly died out, being scarcely found after 1250, and *-ing* (in early ME. *-inge*) became the regular form. In later ME., *-yng* was a frequent scribal variant. [...]" OED lists three main functions of the suffix within this first entry, of which two refer to ModE.¹ Originally, the suffix

¹ The third function of *-ing*, defined as a suffix that forms verbal derivatives, is discussed in reference to an old use of *-inge*, *-yng*, in ME writers, as a case of phonetic confusion (OED: 1435).

-ing was used to form deverbal nouns of action, such as *asking* from *to ask*. Originally they were abstract, but already in OE they would often express a completed action, a process, habit, or art, e.g. *blessing*, *learning*, *wedding*, admit a plural form and become concrete, e.g. *bedding*. In the 14th century, the morphological pattern became established as an actual or possible derivative of every English verb. Later extension led to deriving *-ing* formations from nouns (e.g. *gardening*, *scaffolding*) and adverbs (e.g. *outing*). English allows nonce-formations in *-ing* that are derived freely from various categories, e.g. *oh-ing*, *pshawing*, *yo-hoing*, *how-d ye-doing*; 'I do not believe in all this *pinting*' (having pints of beer) (OED: 1434–1435).

The English substantives in *-ing* are subclassified into eight groups according to their sense, which can be summarized as follows (OED: 1434–1435):

- a) nouns of continuous action or existence, such as *crying*, *flying*, *sleeping*, which must be distinguished from the corresponding nouns, such as *a cry*, *a fly*, *a sleep*, in that the latter denote acts of momentary or short duration, i.e. have a definite beginning and end, and grammatically take *a* and plural, whereas the nouns in *-ing* imply indefinite duration and take no plural. Cf. 'many repeated *cries*' and 'loud and continued *crying*',
- b) nouns denoting single actions, e.g. *a christening*, *a wedding*, *an outing*, which may take plural,
- c) deverbal and denominal nouns denoting a process, practice, habit, or art, e.g. *reading*, *gardening*, *soldiering*,
- d) nouns denoting material accompaniment or product of the action or process, e.g. *blackening*, *dubbing*, *sewing*,
- e) nouns designating a material thing in which the action or its result is concentered or embodied, e.g. 'a *writing* was affixed to the wall',
- f) denominal nouns used as the collective designation of the substance or material employed in an action or process, e.g. *clothing*, *flooring*, *roofing*,
- g) denominal nouns in *-ing* from substantives without a corresponding verb, denoting a collection or indefinite mass of the thing or of its material, e.g. *pipings*, *scaffolding*, *tubings*, and
- h) nouns in which the concrete sense appears exclusively in the plural, e.g. *earnings*, *tidings*, *trappings*.

Formations in *-ing* are also parts of compound words, where they either have an attributive function (e.g. *drawing materials*) or are heads (e.g. *book keeping*).

The other function of *-ing* discussed within the first OED entry is to form verbal nouns in *-ing*, which are used as gerunds, i.e. nouns that perform verbal functions, e.g. are qualified by an adverb (e.g. the habit of *speaking loosely*) and complemented by an object (e.g. he practices *writing leading articles*), a use unknown in OE and early ME.

To sum up, derivational *-ing* has two functions in English; it is used to derive abstract and concrete nouns from verbs and non-count nouns from count nouns (cf. also Quirk 1985: 27, 311, 384, 423, 437, 438; Szymanek 1993: 194–195; Grzebieniowski 1995: 139).²

² No separate mention of derivational *-ing* is offered in Bauer (1983, 1988), Booij (2005) or Lieber (2005).

3. Types of *-ing* formations in contemporary Polish

To address the issue of productivity, it is useful and necessary to divide all *-ing* formations into foreign loans and derivatives that were coined on the Polish soil. The research material used in the present study includes 235 lexemes in *-ing*, most of which are loanwords borrowed from English. We propose two forms of analysis of *-ing* formations, of which one is based on the typology of contact-induced innovations, the other involves a synchronic morphological and semantic analysis of *-ing* formations derived in Polish.

3.1. Types of *-ing* formations in Polish based on the typology of contact-induced innovations

With regard to the typology of loans (see e.g. Betz 1949; Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953; Duckworth 1977; Gómez Capuz 1997; Grzega 2003) and the etymology of language material, the *-ing* formations found in contemporary Polish may be classified into four major categories, of which the last two types are usually not regarded as direct results of the borrowing process (cf. e.g. Onysko 2007; Witalisz 2014):

1. loanwords, e.g. P. *jogging* (< E. *jogging*), P. *zapping* (< E. *zapping*),
2. loanblends, modelled on their English etymons, e.g. P. *zakuping* (< E. *shopping*),
3. pseudo-anglicisms, all types: 3a) lexical, e.g. P. *beforing*, 3b) morphological, e.g. P. *smoking*, 3c) semantic, e.g. P. *churching*, and
4. hybrid creations, e.g. P. *bajering*, P. *morzing*.

English loanwords, which were borrowed as simple lexemes, constitute the most numerous class of *-ing* formations in Polish (see Appendix). Data found in general dictionaries of Polish published in the last one hundred years and in a dictionary of English loanwords prove a steady growth of English *-ing* loanwords, i.e. 43 in 1969 (SJPDor), 83 in 2003 (USJP), and 184 in 2010 (SZA),³ which corresponds to the increase in all loanwords from English over the last century. The list of English loanwords in *-ing* is by no means complete as the appearance of *-ing* formations in contemporary Polish can be observed daily, e.g. P. *vaping* ‘smoking an electronic cigarette’ (< E. *vaping*).

Most loanwords in *-ing* remain unadapted in the receiving language. There are rare instances of English loanwords in *-ing* that coexist in Polish with their morphologically adapted versions, e.g. P. *surfing* and P. *surfowanie* ‘using the Internet’ (< E. *surfing*), P. *trolling* and P. *trolowanie* ‘posting off-topic messages in online fora to irritate other users’ (< E. *trolling*). Graphic adaptation is not common and results

³ Excluded from these counts are simple words in *-ing* (e.g. P. *ring*, P. *pudding*, P. *szyling* [E. *shilling*]) and lexemes derived from proper nouns, e.g. P. *perszing* (< E. *Pershing*). A loanword that has alternative graphic variants is counted as one item. Excluded are also *-ing* loanwords from other Germanic languages, e.g. *fiording* (Nor. *fjord*), *reling* (Ger. *Reling*), *eling* (Dutch. *helling*), and from Port., e.g. *flaming* (Port. *flamingo*) (SJPDor).

in pairs such as P. *catering* and P. *katering* (< E. *catering*). Few loanwords in *ing-* are polysemous, e.g. *surfing*, whose other sense relates to sport.

One other type of loan, i.e. loanblend, defined as partial translation of a foreign etymon, is represented by just two *-ing* formations, where the English base has been replaced with a native Polish lexeme: P. *zakuping* (P. *zakupy* 'shopping' + *-ing* < E. *shopping*) and P. *faszering* (P. *faszerować* 'to stuff' + *-ing* < E. *stuffing*).

The other two types of *-ing* formations are not usually regarded as loans, though it cannot be denied that they are indirect outcomes of foreign linguistic influence. It is chiefly lexical pseudo-anglicisms and hybrid creations that best exemplify the growing productivity of English *-ing* in contemporary Polish, in which it is used as an independent derivational suffix. Lexical pseudo-anglicisms are formations that have been coined out of English morphemes in a language other than English and which do not exist in English (Duckworth 1977: 54; Carstensen 1986: 827; Sørensen 1997: 18; Filipović 2000: 207) or which are being adopted by English due to their frequency in other European languages (cf. Dunn 2008: 62).

Lexical pseudo-anglicisms in *-ing* used in Polish include the following nouns: P. *beforeing* 'a party at home before going out, opposite of *after party*' (E. *before* + *-ing*), P. *contracting* 'type of employment' (P. *kontrakt* 'short term employment contract' + *-ing*), P. *sponsoring* 'sponsorship' (E. *sponsor* + *-ing*), P. *flooding* 'repeating vowels in spelling to emphasise the meaning of a word, e.g. *suuuuper*' (E. *flood* + *-ing*), P. *housing/homing* 'party at home' (E. *house/home* + *-ing*), P. *szoking/shocking* (n.) 'sth that shocks' (E. *shock* + *-ing*) (examples after Witalisz 2014: 8–9), P. *dancing/dansing* 'a party at which people dance' (E. *dance* [hall] + *-ing*),⁴ P. *consulting* 'consultancy' (E. *consult* + *-ing*) (Piotrowski 2005: 507), P. *mobbing* 'bullying of an individual by a group in a workplace' (*to mob* + *-ing*, cf. E. *mobbing* 'welcoming of a celebrity by a crowd' (Dunn 2008: 62).

Other pseudo-anglicisms in *-ing* are either morphological or semantic,⁵ in which the suffix *-ing* is not used productively. Morphological pseudo-anglicisms are results of the process of ellipsis (Filipović 1994: 138–139), during which an English complex word loses one of its components, as in P. *rewolwing* (< E. *revolving credit*), P. *sleeping* (< E. *sleeping car*), P. *camping/kemping* (< E. *camping site*), P. *parking* (< E. *parking lot*), P. *smoking* (< E. *smoking jacket*) (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 65, 2002: 226, 2010: 176, 194). Semantic pseudo-anglicisms include English lexemes that are used in Polish with senses that are unknown in the source language, e.g. P. *churching* 'looking for a church with the best [Catholic] service', 2. 'looking for a church that is best for a wedding' (cf. E. *churching* 'blessing of a woman after childbirth', MWD; *slang*. 'participating in activities organised by the church', UD), P. *shopping/szoping* 'spending free time in shopping malls with no intention of shopping',⁶ P. *toothing* 'sending text messages to the owners of mobile phones with Bluetooth' (cf. E. *tooth-ing*, *slang*. 'looking for sexual partners with the use of the Bluetooth function', UD),

⁴ P. *dancing/dansing* can also be classified as morphological pseudo-anglicisms if we assume it is a clipped form of E. *dancing-room* (cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995: 65, 2010: 58).

⁵ Cf. criticism of the typology of pseudo-anglicisms that includes semantic and morphological pseudo-loans, in Grzega (2003: 32) and Onysko (2007: 53).

⁶ See Zabawa (2013) on P. *shopping* and its derivatives in Polish.

P. *tuning* 1. 'modifying vehicles', 2. *slang*. 'tearing the filter tip off a cigarette to make it stronger' (cf. E. *tuning* 'adjusting a musical instrument, TV, radio, engine in order to make it work better', MWD, TFD).

The productivity of the *-ing* suffix in Polish is best manifested in hybrid creations, i.e. formations composed of Polish and English language material but lacking English etymons. Their growing number is a sign of the correct and creative use of a foreign suffix by Polish speakers. At the moment most of the examples of *-ing* hybrid creations quoted here are nonce formations; only some have been attested in MSSMP. They have been excerpted from the language of the media (printed press, TV commercials, Internet) and include the following: P. *bajering* 'spoofing' (P. *bajer/bajerować* '(to) spoof' + *-ing*), P. *grobning* 'visiting graves on All Saints' Day' (P. *grób* 'grave' + *-ing*), P. *morzing* 'spending holidays at the seaside' (P. *morze* 'sea' + *-ing*), P. *łóż(k)ing* 'spending weekend mornings in bed' (P. *łóżko* 'bed' + *-ing*), P. *braming* 'drinking alcohol in the gate of a tenement house; a cheaper alternative to clubbing' (P. *brama* 'gate' + *-ing*), P. *zakatedring* 'drinking alcohol behind the professor's desk' (P. *za* 'behind' + *katedra* 'desk' + *-ing*), P. *schodning* 'running up and down the stairs to keep fit' (P. *schody* 'stairs' + *-ing*), P. *plażing* 'sunbathing on the beach' (P. *plaża/plażować* 'beach/to sunbathe on the beach' + *-ing*), P. *smażing* [figurative] 'sunbathing' (P. *smażyć* 'to fry' + *-ing*), P. *lening* 'being lazy' (P. *leń* 'lazybones' + *-ing*), P. *leżing* 'being in a horizontal position' (P. *leżeć* 'to lie' + *-ing*), P. *piwing* 'drinking beer' (P. *piwo* 'beer' + *-ing*), P. *spacering* 'strolling' (P. *spacer/spacerować* '(to) stroll' + *-ing*), P. *szafing* 'a party at which women exchange clothes' (P. *szafa* 'closet' + *-ing*), P. *uczing* 'studying' (P. *uczyć się* 'to study' + *-ing*), P. *odpoczing* 'having a rest' (P. *odpoczywać* 'to rest' + *-ing*), P. *ławking* 'drinking alcohol on a bench rather than in a pub' (P. *ławka* 'bench' + *-ing*), P. *Łomżing* '?spending time with friends and drinking Łomża beer'⁷ (P. *Łomża* 'name of a beer brand and a Polish city' + *-ing*), P. *kocing* '?sitting outside on the blanket and practising Łomżing' (P. *koc* 'blanket' + *-ing*), P. *trawing* '?sitting on the lawn/grass' (P. *trawa* 'grass'/*trawnik* 'lawn' + *-ing*). These last three examples, sourced in a national advertising campaign, increased the productivity of *-ing* and nonce *-ing* formations are produced freely in Polish, especially in the informal language of the Internet fora.

3.2. Morphological and semantic analysis of non-loan *-ing* formations in Polish

Since loanwords in *-ing* such as *jogging* and *leasing* were borrowed as simple lexemes, a synchronic morphological analysis is relevant only for non-loan *-ing* formations that have been derived in Polish, i.e. hybrid creations (type 4) and lexical pseudo-loans (type 3a, with the exception of those lexical pseudo-anglicisms that were formed in a different language and borrowed by Polish as a simple lexeme, e.g. *mobbing*). The two types require separate discussions as hybrid formations are derived from Polish bases, while lexical pseudo-loans – from English bases.

⁷ This is the original sense of *Łomżing*, intended in the 2013 advertising campaign; since then *Łomżing* has been used in a number of senses, all pejorative and related to various events taking place in the city of Łomża.

All but five *-ing* hybrid creations are derived from Polish nouns; exceptions are the deverbal formations, e.g. P. *leżing* and P. *uczing*, and P. *zakatedring* whose stem is the prepositional phrase P. *za katedrą*. There are three doubtful cases, P. *spacing*, P. *plazing* and P. *bajering*, which may be either deverbal or denominal derivatives. The majority of the hybrid creations are clearly denominal, as they were formed from nouns without corresponding verbs, e.g. P. *szafing*. In all cases, the *-ing* suffix attaches to the base forms of the noun/verb, which all end in a consonant.

In the case of lexical pseudo-anglicisms, composed of English morphemes, the *-ing* suffix is equally flexible and attaches freely to verbs (e.g. P. *consulting*), nouns (e.g. P. *homing*) and prepositions (e.g. P. *beforing*).⁸ Taking into account the formal identicalness of certain English nouns and verbs and also the existence in Polish of English loanwords that have both nominal and verbal forms [e.g. P. *sponsor* (n.) and *sponsorować* (v.); P. *szok* (n.) and *szokować* (v.)], in a number of cases the category of the base is unclear, as in P. *sponsoring* and P. *shocking/szoking*.

Referring to the derivational function of *-ing* and the eight senses of *-ing* English formations, attested in OED, all Polish hybrid formations in *-ing*, whether denominal or deverbal, are uncountable nouns denoting a continuous action (e.g. P. *plazing*) or a process, practice or habit [e.g. P. *schoding*, P. *bajering* (OED senses a) and c)]. Lexical pseudo-anglicisms in *-ing*, on the other hand, are all nouns that denote a single action (e.g. P. *beforing*, P. *dancing*) or a process, practice or habit [e.g. P. *flood-ing*, P. *sponsoring* (OED senses b) and c)]. It seems that P. *shocking/szoking*, used as a noun in Polish, falls out of the OED classification.

It must also be noted that the preference for nouns as bases in Polish *-ing* formations is manifested in the category of loanblends (type 2), where the verbal base of English *shopping* has been translated into a noun in Polish, cf. P. *zakuping* (P. *zakupy* 'shopping' + *-ing*, a partial translation of E. *shopping*) vs. **kuping* (P. *kupować* 'to shop' + *-ing*).

4. Productivity of *-ing* in Polish

As has already been shown, the productivity of *-ing* in Polish may only be discussed in reference to two of the four types of *-ing* formations presented above, in which *-ing* is morphologically active. We must necessarily exclude English loanwords in *-ing*, which were borrowed as simple unanalysed lexemes. Yet, as will be argued later, loanwords in *-ing* have their share in the current productivity of *-ing* in Polish. The morphological activity of the English derivational *-ing* suffix in Polish was first observed by E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1993: 281, 1995: 85) and exemplified with P. *schod-ing* 'type of physical exercise', derived from the Polish noun *schody* 'stairs'. It seems credible to assume that *-ing* was not borrowed directly from English in the way in which we borrow lexemes, but that it appeared and became productive in Polish as a final stage of a complex process whose first phase was the borrowing of English

⁸ E. *before* is classified here as a preposition, rather than adverb or conjunction, due to the meaning of P. *beforing* 'a party at home before some other party'.

loanwords in *-ing*. As they grew in number and shared not only the final *-ing* but also a common component of meaning, i.e. 'activity, process, practice, habit', that was associated with the reappearing element, they were analysed morphologically and *-ing* was separated to become an independent and active derivational suffix in Polish (cf. Fisiak 1986: 254; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1993: 280–281; Waszakowa 1994: 68; Piotrowski 2005: 507). If *-ing* was used only once to produce a derivative in Polish, we might dismiss it as analogy to loanwords in *-ing*, but its multiple uses give evidence for it becoming a productive rule (cf. Bauer 1988: 64). Had Polish more loanblends in *-ing*, they might be considered an intermediate stage or an alternative source of the suffix.

Productivity as a morphological notion remains the most essential and controversial issue in the study of morphology because particular word-formation processes and individual affixes vary in the extent of their exploitation for coining new lexemes.⁹ In comparison to inflectional and syntactic processes, derivational word formation processes have been argued to be idiosyncratic, irregular, and, therefore, not very productive (Chomsky 1970 qtd. in Štekauer 2000: 118), which has been disproved in a number of morphological studies (see Beard 1995; Štekauer 2000: 118; Bauer 2005). Derivational productivity, understood as the degree to which particular word formation processes or affixes are used to produce new lexemes, has been approached from two different perspectives. Aronoff (1976) examines productivity at the level of langue (or lexicon) and exploits the notions of semantic coherence and potentiation (Williams 1981: 250), the former – to assess the semantic predictability of the derivative, the latter – to determine the affix that is potentiated by the immediately preceding affix. While the notion of potentiation thus understood cannot be applied to the examined *-ing* formations, since *-ing* attaches to bases rather than complex words, it may be exploited for the study of *-ing*, if we assume that productivity is determined by the base to which an affix attaches. Thus *-ing* in Polish is more productive with nominal bases than with verbal ones, both in the case of hybrid formations and lexical pseudo-anglicisms. As for semantic coherence, the rule which derives abstract nouns in *-ing* from both nominal and verbal bases is highly semantically coherent, as the Polish nouns in *-ing* (as shown above) all denote one of the three: a continuous action, a single action, or a process, practice, habit.

Productivity has also been discussed in relation to parole (i.e. frequency of a particular derivative) (Baayen 1993: 193). The use of a large corpus allows to calculate the measure of productivity (P, i.e. potential application of a particular Word Formation rule) taking into account the number of *hapax legomena*, i.e. words derived with the use of the evaluated affix that occur only once in the analysed corpus (n_1), which has to be divided by the total number of tokens of all derivatives with the evaluated affix (N): ($P = n_1 : N$). A calculation like this poses several problems in our case. It is not clear whether the above formula may be used to calculate the productivity of *-ing* in Polish, since the N variable would have to include *-ing* formations that were not coined in the receiving language (loanwords,

⁹ For a comprehensive account of views on productivity see Bauer (2005).

semantic pseudo-anglicisms), i.e. formations in which *-ing* has not been used actively in Polish. Secondly, deciding on the number of *hapax legomena* in *-ing* appears problematic. The National Polish Corpus (NKJP) does not list any of the hybrid creations in *-ing* as they are still nonce-formations and appear in the spoken language or the informal written language of the Internet. A principle that is used to confirm productivity in word formation states that the number of derivatives is indirectly proportional to the number of their occurrences: the higher the number of derivatives, the lower the frequency of particular derivatives (e.g. Štekauer 2000: 120). The growing number of *-ing* formations in Polish confirms the growing value of productivity, as does their low frequency.

Productivity may, however, be limited by blocking and restriction factors. Blocking (Aronoff 1976: 43; Bauer 1983: 87ff, 1988: 66ff; Štekauer 2000: 121), also known as preemption by synonymy (Clark, Clark 1979: 798), is defined as the non-occurrence of a derivative resulting from the existence of another, synonymous lexeme. Bauer (1983: 88), noticing the pragmatic aspect of word formation and emphasising the role of a speech community in accepting a new derivative, redefines blocking as preventing “no so much the coining of nonce complex forms as their institutionalization.” Most of the *-ing* formations in question have no one-word semantic equivalents in Polish; it seems that, apart from the current fashion for “-inging” (P. ‘moda na ingowanie’),¹⁰ some speakers of Polish choose the more economical way of referring to activities that otherwise must be referred to descriptively, cf. P. *łóż(k)ing* and P. *spędzanie poranka w łóżku* ‘spending the [weekend] morning in bed’.

Productivity of word-formation processes may also be restricted phonologically, morphologically, and semantically (Bauer 1983: 88ff, 1988: 69; Štekauer 2000: 123; Rainer 2005). *-ing* hybrid formations are restricted phonologically, as the suffix may only attach to bases that end in a consonant. As for morphological limitation, *-ing* cannot be added to a stem that ends in the same suffix, i.e. it cannot be attached to loanwords in *-ing*. While there is no restriction as to the number of syllables in a base (cf. P. *zakatedring*), it seems that *-ing* cannot be added to certain grammatical categories, such as prepositions, adjectives or adverbs in Polish. Semantically, *-ing* formations seem to be unrestricted, though this, at the moment, is an assumption awaiting further investigation.

5. Conclusions

The morphological activity of the English *-ing* suffix in Polish illustrates the productivity of a foreign morpheme in the receiving language. Of the four types of *-ing* formations present in contemporary Polish, the productivity of *-ing* is best manifested in the formation of hybrid creations and lexical pseudo-anglicisms. The former are ‘potential words’ (Štekauer 2000: 123), i.e. they have been produced

¹⁰ Using *-ing* as a base for the derivative *ingowanie* (E. *inging*) may be one other argument for the growing and almost unrestricted productivity of *-ing* in Polish.

by productive rules, yet have not been institutionalised. It has been observed that the results of the most productive word formation processes tend not to be listed in dictionaries (Aronoff 1976: 37).

It is important to emphasise that *-ing* is not the only English morpheme whose morphological activity is on the increase in contemporary Polish. Other affixes (e.g. *-er, e-*), free morphemes (e.g. *boy, land, man*) and combining forms (*cyber-, eko-, -gate, mega-, super-*) have been freely combining with Polish bases.¹¹ Especially the latter have been unprecedentedly productive in the language of Polish journalism. The same phenomenon can be observed in other European languages (see e.g. Gómez Capuz 1997: 85; Luciński 2000; Waszakowa 2002; Jochym-Kuszklikowa 2005; Onysko 2007). The morpheme *-ing* is also becoming a pan-European suffix that is part not only of English loanwords adopted by other European languages but also of newly-formed derivatives coined in the receiving languages. Taking into account the number of well-established loans in *-ing*, the very few restrictions on *-ing* productivity in Polish, and the semantic clarity of *-ing* formations, it is doubtful that the use of *-ing* will prove to be ephemeral.

Appendix
Types of *-ing* formations in Polish.

<i>-ing</i> formations in Polish (May 2014)	
loanwords	Examples of the nearly 200 loanwords found in SJPDor, USJP and SZA: <i>briefing, caravaning/karawaning, clubbing, doping, holding, jogging, happening, catering/katering, leasing, lobbying, marketing, meeting, monitoring, recykling, roaming, siding, stretching, surfing, zapping...</i> Loanwords not listed in SJPDor, USJP or SZA: <i>balkoning, homeschooling, grilling, showrooming, vaping</i>
loanblends	<i>faszering, zakuping</i>
pseudo-anglicisms	lexical: <i>beforing, consulting, dancing, flooding, housing, homing, mobbing, sponsoring, szoking/shocking, contracting</i> morphological: <i>camping/kemping, parking, rewolwing, sleeping, smoking</i> semantic: <i>churching, shopping/szoping, toothing, tuning</i>
hybrid creations	denominal: <i>braming, grobing, kocing, lening, ławking, łózing, Łomzing, morzing, piwing, schoding, szafing, trawing</i> deverbal: <i>lezing, odpoczing, smazing, uczing</i> denominal/deverbal: <i>bajering, plazing, spacing</i> other: <i>zakatedring</i>

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Fisiak (1986), Waszakowa (1993, 1994: 148) and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2006: 65–66) on *-er*; Zabawa (2004) and Data (2009) on *e-*; Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1993: 281) and Piotrowski (2005: 508) on *man, land, shop*; Waszakowa (2002, 2005) on English combining forms used in Polish.

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- MWD = *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. [available at: <http://www.merriam-webster.com>].
- OED = Simpson J.A., Weiner E.S.C. (eds.). 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. [20 vols., 2nd edition]. Oxford.
- SJPDor = Doroszewski W. (ed.). 1961. *Słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa. [available at: <http://doroszewski.pwn.pl>].
- SWar [= *Słownik warszawski*] = Karłowicz J. (ed.). 1900–1927. *Słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa.
- SWil [= *Słownik wileński*] = Zdanowicz A. 1861. *Słownik języka polskiego*. Wilno.
- SZA = Mańczak-Wohlfeld E. (ed.). 2010. *Słownik zapożyczeń angielskich*. Warszawa.
- TFD = *The Free Dictionary*. [available at: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com>].
- UD = *Urban Dictionary*. [available at: <http://www.urbandictionary.com>].
- USJP = Dubisz S. (ed.). 2003. *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa.
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